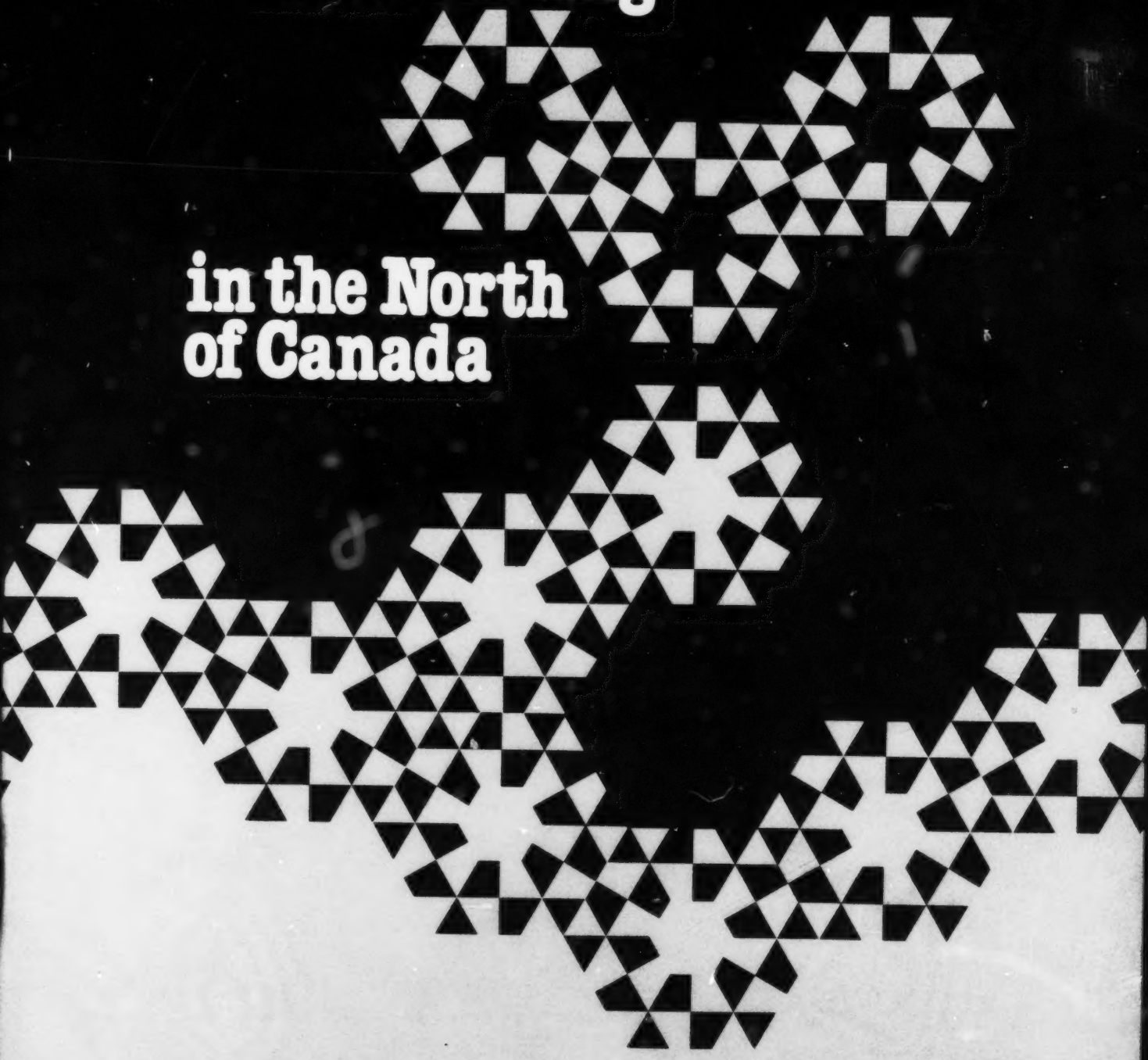
Report 54

Native Broadcasting in the North of Canada



Canadian Commission for Unesco

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Native Broadcasting in the North of Canada

Canadian Commission for Unesco

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Report 54

NATIVE BROADCASTING IN THE NORTH OF CANADA:

A New and Potent Force

European Joint Study on

The Role of Communication in the Cultural Development of Rural Areas

Working paper for
the meeting of Sept-Iles, Quebec
September 1986

Canadian Commission for Unesco

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FOREWORD

This is a condensation of a more exhaustive examination of native broadcasting in Canada which was prepared for a Unesco joint study entitled "The Role of Communication in the Cultural Development of Rural Areas." Canada, because of its dominant cultures, is considered part of the European Region for the purposes of a series of Unesco-sponsored joint studies on cultural policies. The paper was prepared by two experts on Canadian policy affecting native peoples, J. Mark Stiles and William Litwack, and was presented to a meeting of the international group of specialists participating in the Unesco joint study. The meeting was held at Sept-Iles, Quebec between 29 September and 3 October 1986. The Canadian Commission for Unesco acted as coordinator of the study; the specialists taking part in the meeting came from Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Portugal and Switzerland.

Since then, moves have begun which will lead to the second phase of the development of native broadcasting in Canada. The Northern Native Broadcast Access Program has been renewed indefinitely with an annual budget of $13.2 million. The Canadian government has received the report of its Task Force on Broadcasting (Caplan-Sauvageau) which proposes a major overhaul of broadcasting in Canada. The report came out during the Sept-Iles meeting, and the Commission invited Florian Sauvageau, co-chairman of the task force, to address the participants at the joint study meeting.

The Caplan-Sauvageau task force made a number of recommendations in support of native broadcasting, including the key one that the country's broadcasting act "should affirm the right of native peoples to broadcasting services in aboriginal languages . . ." The House of Commons Standing Committee on Communications and Culture has supported that legislative recommendation. The task force also calls for other measures to bolster native broadcasting.

The following paper is intended as an overview of native broadcasting in Canada. Those interested in receiving the fuller report that was presented to the Unesco joint study with bibliography and endnotes, or who simply want the bibliography, should write to the Canadian Commission for Unesco.

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AUTHORS' PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was originally prepared under the direction of Gwen Andrews, Director of Extension of Services and Special Audiences Policy Division, Broadcasting and Services Branch, Department of Communications of Canada. Once again, we wish to thank her for her support.

We wish also to thank Alex MacGregor and his NNBAP staff at the Department of the Secretary of State for extensive assistance throughout. We are indebted to many native broadcasters and resource people for advice and direction.

In particular, we would like to thank the staff of IBC and SOCAM for their assistance in preparing detailed case studies of both organizations.

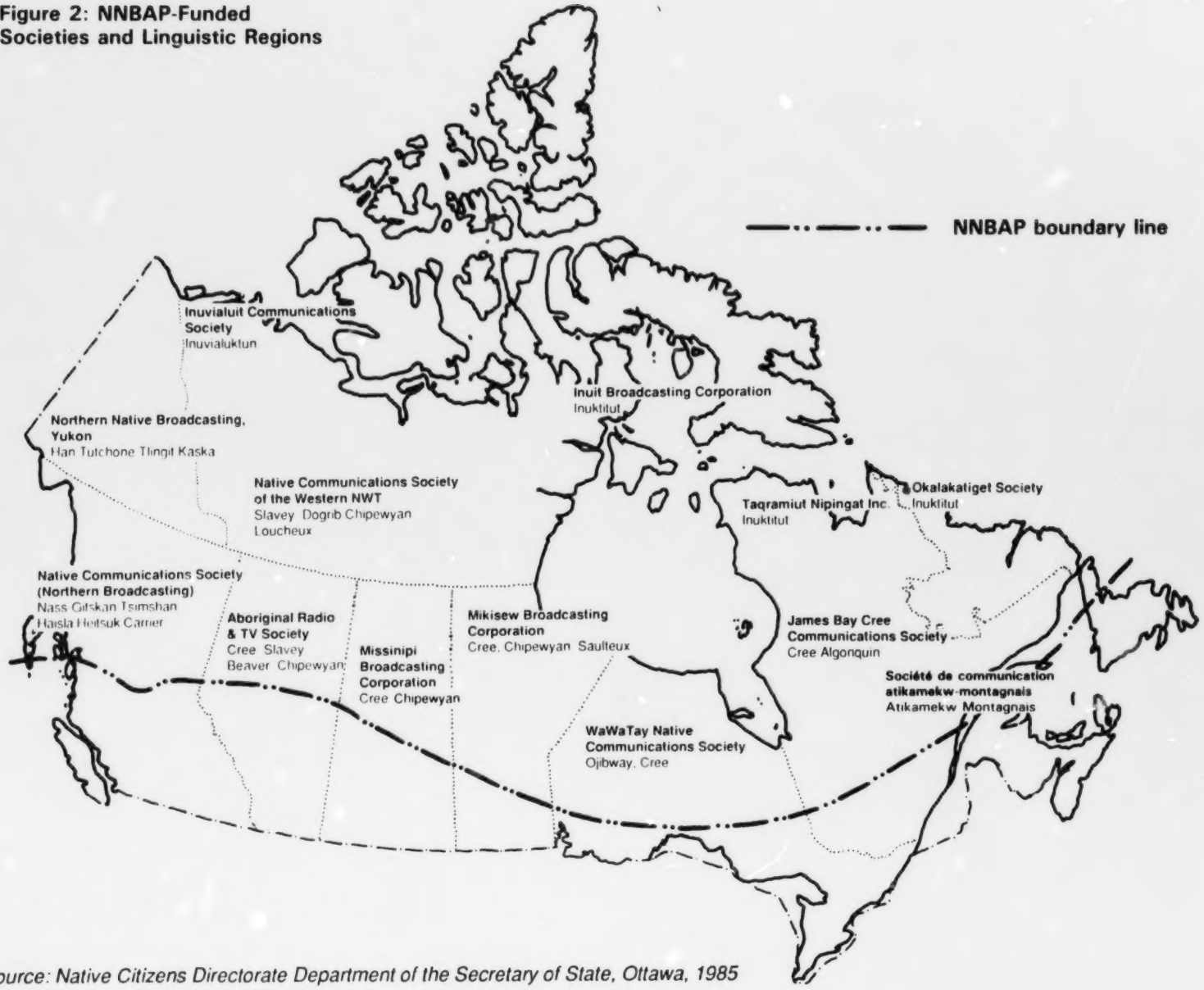
Many thanks to Melanie Legault for putting this document together in its final form. We thank Linda Hiles for the original editing and proofreading our drafts.

The views expressed herein are those of the authors unless otherwise indicated. The authors take full responsibility for any errors, omissions, or other anomalies contained in this study.

J. Mark Stiles, William Litwack

Figure 1:
Canada
SCALE 1:20,900,000 OR ONE INCH TO 330 MILES
MILES 100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500
KILOMETRES 100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800
Federal Capital
Provincial Capital
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
ELLESMERE ISLAND
GREENLAND (DENMARK)
BAFFIN BAY
DAVIS STRAIT
HUDSON BAY
Hudson Strait
Ungava Bay
James Bay
Yukon
ALASKA
Beaufort Sea
Columbia
Missouri River
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
L. Ontario
Lake Erie
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
SAN FRANCISCO
CHICAGO
DETROIT
NEW YORK
HALIFAX

Figure 2: NNBAP-Funded Societies and Linguistic Regions



Source: Native Citizens Directorate Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa, 1985

1 CANADA'S NATIVE PEOPLE: POPULATION, DISTRIBUTION, AND CULTURES

1 CANADA'S NATIVE PEOPLE: POPULATION, DISTRIBUTION AND CULTURES

Canada's native or aboriginal peoples number about 500,000, according to the 1981 Canadian census. Together, Indians, Metis (people of mixed white and Indian ancestry) and Inuit make up about 2.1 per cent of the Canadian population. Because of high birthrates and declining infant mortality, the native population is young. In some regions, 50 per cent are under the age of 20, and less than 20 per cent are over 45. The table below outlines the proportion of aboriginal people in each province and territory.

Table: Registered Indian, other native and total native populations as a percentage of total Canadian provincial/territorial populations, 1981

Province/Territory	Registered Indians	Other Natives	Total
Nova Scotia and Newfoundland	0.5	0.4	0.9
New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island	0.6	0.2	0.8
Quebec	0.6	0.2	0.8
Ontario	0.9	0.4	1.3
Manitoba	4.3	2.4	6.6
Saskatchewan	4.2	2.1	6.3
Alberta	1.8	1.5	3.3
British Columbia	2.2	0.9	3.1
Yukon	13.2	4.8	18.0
Northwest Territories	16.2	42.0	58.2
Canada	1.3	0.7	2.1

Source: Canada. 1981 Census Highlights on Registered Indians: Annotated Tables. Ottawa, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985, page 7.

The native population represents a more significant proportion of the total population in the western than in the eastern provinces. The population in the northern parts of the western provinces tends to be predominantly native.

The Northwest Territories has the greatest number of native people relative to total population (58 per cent). A majority of the registered Indian population resides in rural communities, compared to 24 per cent of the general Canadian population. Inuit, who number about 25,000, live mainly in the coastal regions of the Northwest Territories, arctic Quebec, and Labrador.

Compared with other Canadians, native people have higher rates of unemployment, imprisonment, violent death and suicide. Compared with other Canadians, natives have lower incomes (one-half to two-thirds of the national average), lower levels of formal education and poorer living conditions. A common misconception is that aboriginal Canadians form a homogeneous cultural group. In fact, native Canadians come from many different cultures. Fifty-three native languages are spoken in Canada today, belonging to eleven language groups. Each group reflects vastly different cultures and traditions. Some native people still maintain ancient hunting and gathering traditions while others are wage earners in mainstream Canadian society. Marked regional differences in language, culture and lifestyle challenge native-language broadcasters. Aboriginal languages in Canada are threatened.

Ethnologist Michael Foster estimates that only three of the native languages spoken in Canada have an excellent chance of survival; thirteen are moderately endangered and eight are near extinction. Native leaders point to the proliferation of English mass media, especially television, as a major factor in the declining use of ancestral languages. Despite discouraging statistics, native people in many regions are determined to reverse the trend towards acculturation to the majority. Across Canada, there is indigenous cultural and linguistic rejuvenation along with increasing institutional support.

2 NATIVE BROADCASTING IN CANADA: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2 NATIVE BROADCASTING IN CANADA: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Most studies suggest that the development of native broadcasting was a secondary consequence of government-supported experimentation designed, first, to test Canadian technology and, second, to advance the dominant society's interests in northern Canada. The native broadcasting projects and experiments described in this chapter are exceptional. For the most part, native needs were ignored as Canadian broadcasting developed.

2.1 Early Developments

The early history of broadcasting in the North is largely the story of the extension of the services of the public broadcaster, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. In 1958, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Northern Service was created when the Canadian Armed Forces and Department of Transport transmitters in Yellowknife (Northwest Territories), and in Whitehorse and Dawson City (Yukon Territory), were turned over to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Initially, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Northern Service did little more than carry radio programs from southern Canada on tape delay basis and by short wave. The first Inuit-language broadcast was in 1960. By 1972, about 16 per cent of the short-wave service beamed to the North from Montreal was in Inuktitut. But short-wave reception was notoriously poor. In some parts of the North, Russian and American broadcasts were sometimes received more clearly than the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

As basic broadcasting equipment became more compact and accessible in the early 1970s, many native communities (some with as few as 300 residents) established small radio stations. In some cases, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation provided community access to local transmitters, established affiliate agreements with local communications societies and provided them with basic studios and maintenance. By the early 1980s, there were about 150 native stations. Community radio might be the only station in town, or it might provide a popular music alternative to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Community radio also allowed messages to be passed to friends and relatives and search parties to be organized for missing hunters. Everyone's favorite records were played. Programming was often in local aboriginal dialects, adding an important cultural dimension to early media use. In 1973, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation brought satellite-delivered television to the North. The extension of services was made official in 1974, when the Federal Government approved the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Accelerated Coverage Plan (ACP). It required television and radio service to be provided in communities of 500 or more. Because of lack of service, the first transmitters authorized by the CBC under the ACP were put in northern communities. The newly introduced television service consisted almost entirely of southern English-language programming, reflecting the values of urban dwellers in southern Canada and the U.S.A. It was greeted with mixed emotions in native communities, ranging from curiosity to contempt. Soap operas like The Edge of Night and All My Children proved so popular that work hours and community activities had to be scheduled around them.

Children in many parts of the Northwest Territories were habitually late for school after watching late-night movies on television. Many communities were concerned about the gratuitous violence, the exploitation, and the consumerism of southern TV. Native representatives in the far North

complained that communities there had not been adequately consulted about TV's introduction. They were concerned about the lack of funds and facilities to incorporate regional native-language programming. Some were defiant. The Northern Quebec Inuit Association appeared before the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission - the federal broadcasting regulatory agency - to oppose the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's bid to establish satellite television services at Fort Chimo and Poste-de-la-Baleine. They wanted the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to provide an adequate radio service for the region and a television service that included Inuit programming, as well. Government-sponsored satellite development meant native groups had some opportunities to take advantage of the new technology. In 1976, in cooperation with the United States, Canada launched the HERMES satellite. The initiative was partially intended to test the social applications of interactive satellite technology. One HERMES project, called Naalakvik I, linked a dozen Inuit communities in Arctic Quebec in an interactive radio network for a two-month period.

A second project in northwestern Ontario enabled WaWaTay, the regional native communications society, to broadcast to three remote Cree and Ojibway communities. In a third experiment, Project Iron Star, the Alberta Native Communications Society established a video-distribution system in three rural communities, linking them together by teleconference using the HERMES satellite.

Following the launching of Canada's ANIK B satellite in 1978, Inuit demands to be included in the development of an appropriate northern television service were answered. Under an experimental program, funded by the Federal Department of Communications (DOC), two Inuit groups were allowed to develop their own temporary television networks. The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the national Inuit organization, coordinated one project called Inukshuk, named after the human-form stone cairns used by Inuit hunters. DOC provided the technical infrastructure. Between 1978 and 1982, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs provided $1.9 million to fund the experiment.

The project involved film and video production training, the establishment of production facilities, and a videotape mail distribution system to more than thirty Inuit communities in the Northwest Territories and Labrador.

Once the satellite service phase started, Inukshuk provided six Inuit communities in the Northwest Territories with an interactive network combining teleconferencing and television broadcasting 16.5 hours each week, for eight months.

The second project, called Naalakvik II, was coordinated by Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. With funding of $918,000, shared between the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and the Department of Supply and Services, Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. linked five isolated Arctic Quebec Inuit communities in an interactive network, with program production and uplink facilities in one community. Unlike the Inukshuk Project, Naalakvik II introduced television for the first time to the Inuit of Northern Quebec. Despite their success, both projects were short-lived. They ended in 1981 when funds ran out. While brief, the ANIK B experiments marked the beginning of a new era in native communications. Inukshuk and Naalakvik II showed the need for Inuit-controlled television. They demonstrated to Federal authorities that aboriginal people could successfully manage complex broadcasting projects and adapt sophisticated technology to meet their communications needs.

2.2 Regulatory Role in the Development of Native Broadcasting Services

The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission regulates and supervises all broadcasting in Canada, under the legislative authority of the Broadcasting Act. In 1980, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission formed a nine-member Committee on the Extension of Services to Northern and Remote Communities. Headed by the late Réal Therrien, and including an Inuk (Inuk is the singular of Inuit. Inuit serves either as an adjective or the plural of Inuk), John Amagoalik. The Committee provided a public forum, in which the television broadcasting options of various interest groups could be examined and debated, before any structural changes to the broadcasting system in Canada's remote and northern regions were made.

Indian and Inuit groups from across the North took the opportunity to inform the Committee of the impact of southern television services on their languages and cultures. At a hearing in Baker Lake in the Northwest Territories, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada put forward a plan for an Inuit-controlled broadcasting service using the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's satellite distribution system.

The Therrien Committee was sympathetic to the concerns raised by native representatives and their supporters. It recommended that Canada meet its obligation to provide opportunities for native peoples to preserve the use of their languages and develop their own cultures through broadcasting and other communications. In a landmark decision in 1981, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission granted the Inuit a television broadcast licence to the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to be held until a new organization would be established to manage the Inuit network. A $3.9 million grant from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, disbursed over a two-year period (1981-82 and 1982-83), provided the financial base for Inuit television production in Northern Quebec and the Northwest Territories.

Subsequently, the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation was formed and began its programming service in January 1982, sharing the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Northern Satellite distribution network. Also in 1981, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission approved a joint application from Yukon Indians and the Dene from the Northwest Territories for a satellite radio network to deliver programming in several aboriginal languages.

3 NATIVE BROADCASTING TODAY

3 NATIVE BROADCASTING TODAY

In 1983, after consulting with native organizations across Canada, the Federal Government announced the Northern Broadcasting Policy. It stated that to maintain and develop native languages and cultures, northern native people should receive relevant broadcast programming, including content they produced themselves.

According to the new policy, existing northern broadcasters, such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, had to carry native-produced programming on their distribution systems. As part of the Northern Broadcasting Policy, the Federal Government established the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP), a $40.3 million fund. It was to be spent during a four-year period to underwrite the production costs for regional radio and television broadcasts in native dialects.

The NNBAP budget was based on original projected programming costs of $5,000 per hour for television and $420 per hour for radio, including administrative costs. The budget was designed to allow participating native communications societies to research, plan, and work their way towards a target production goal of up to twenty hours of radio and, subsequently, five hours of television per week, or any equivalent combination of programming.

The principal objectives of the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program are as follows:

a. To contribute to the protection and enhancement of native languages and cultures in the North, including:

   i. their development and transmission to native children and youth;

   ii. knowledge and appreciation of their linguistic and cultural heritage among native peoples.

   iii. maintenance and development among northern natives of their linguistic and cultural identities.

b. To facilitate native participation in activities and developments related to the North through:

   i. exchange of information and ideas within native societies about activities and developments related to the North;

   ii. acquisition by northern natives of appropriate skills for cultural, economic and social survival in the North among native peoples.

An underlying objective of the program was to give Indian and Metis in the Yukon, the Northwest Territories and the northern regions of seven provinces the opportunity to catch up to the Inuit in the Eastern Arctic, who were already broadcasting at near target levels by the time the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program began in April 1983.

The Northern Native Broadcast Access Program funds one native communications society in each of thirteen northern cultural and linguistic regions.

4 TWO CASE STUDIES

4 TWO CASE STUDIES

Two case studies best illustrate the evolution of native broadcasting in Canada. One is the Société de Communication Atikamekw-Montagnais (SOCAM) and the other is the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC). After setting forth these two cases, the paper will continue with a general examination of the subject.

SOCAM is a native communications society serving two Indian nations in Quebec. IBC serves Inuit in Canada's North. The paper refers to community broadcasting and regional broadcasting. A community station serves a village or settlement. Regional programming is usually produced in one or more production centres and distributed over a network linking communities in a large territory. Regional networks often supply community stations with network programs by satellite.

CASE STUDY 1:

SOCIÉTÉ DE COMMUNICATION ATIKAMEKW-MONTAGNAIS (SOCAM)

4.1.1 Historical Development

In the summer of 1977, the Atikamekw-Montagnais Council consulted four Montagnais communities about developing community radio. They talked to government. The following year, an experimental community radio station was operated for three days, during a summer festival in the town of Natashquan.

That year, the Atikamekw-Montagnais Council started a newspaper called Tepatshimuwin which dealt with national, regional and local issues affecting the two nations. It was part of the Council's information program and was trilingual, Atikamekw, Montagnais and French. Financed by government subsidy and subscriptions, it was distributed throughout the region. The newspaper's success sparked interest in other media, especially radio.

By March 1979, the first permanent local radio facilities were established in two Montagnais communities. During the summer, the Atikamekw, working closely with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's French-language network, followed suit. By late 1981, all the region's communities had one watt radio stations with a five kilometre range.

Initial success led to expansion. In 1980, the Atikamekw-Montagnais Council opened a small radio production centre in Village Huron near the provincial capital Quebec City. It produced cultural and information programming which was distributed to local stations on cassettes which were used to supplement local programming.

By early 1982, the Village Huron production centre was beaming network broadcast, using the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Northern Service's satellite and short-wave service. Usually, local stations retransmitted the one-hour broadcasts - half an hour in Atikamekw and half an hour in Montagnais - to the communities. Short-wave signals were rebroadcast in FM. By July 1982, the network was broadcasting two hours daily.

The advent of the NNBAP in 1983 led to legal incorporation for SOCAM and it started getting substantial federal support. SOCAM upgraded all its operations. By summer 1984, all communities had satellite dishes which provided them with better reception.

Less than a year later, SOCAM opened regional production centres in La Tuque and Sept Iles. By June 1985, the regional network was on the

air daily for three hours and was planning to go to four the next year.

4.1.2 Region and Audience Served

SOCAM serves about 10,000 people with the Atikamekw accounting for around 30 per cent. Atikamekw live in three communities of the Haute Mauricie region of Quebec (Obedjiwan, Weymontanchinque, Manouane). Montagnais reside in eleven communities in a vast territory that covers about one-fifth of the land in Quebec on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence River, the Lower North Shore, Lac St-Jean, Nouveau Québec, and part of Labrador.

According to a 1984 audience survey, 83 per cent of the population speak either Atikamekw or Montagnais, while 17 per cent speak French. French is the second language for most.

About half the population hunt regularly.

Almost every household has at least one radio. Radio is mentioned twice as often as the main source of Indian news. The most popular listening periods are from 8:00 am to noon and from 6:00 pm to 8:00 pm.

In addition to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Northern Service, which broadcasts only in native languages in Quebec, the communities receive a minimum of one additional radio station and, in some cases, up to seven or more stations. All receive Canadian Broadcasting Corporation French-language television and several, three or more additional stations.

Only half the population have regular telephone service throughout the year.

The 1984 survey indicated a high interest in traditional lifestyles. Ninety-four per cent were very interested in maintaining their language, 87 per cent were very interested in hunting, fishing, and trapping. About 80 per cent were very interested in traditional legends. The survey indicated that 66 per cent believed Indians were losing their traditional lifestyle, but there was guarded optimism about their cultural future. Thirty-six per cent felt the cultural future for young people would improve, 18 per cent thought it would get worse.

4.1.3 Mandate

SOCAM's roots are in using media for community development. Its mandate is to furnish communities with information of interest to them, and to encourage contacts and exchange among them.

4.1.4 Organizational Structure, Management, Staffing

The General Council of SOCAM is made up of the presidents of the local radio committees in the fourteen communities served. It meets annually to discuss general issues. SOCAM is governed by a five-member Board of Directors. Three are chosen from the General Council to represent the three major regions. One member, who must be Atikamekw, is chosen by the General Council from the community at large. One member is chosen by SOCAM's 21 employees.

4.1.5 Activities and Revenue Sources

SOCAM's principal activity is to operate a satellite-delivered, regional radio broadcast service. It was planning to produce some television in 1987. It also has organized a variety of training activities, usually with financial assistance from various government organizations.

4.1.6 Programming

SOCAM broadcasts three hours a day, 2.5 hours in the morning, and half an hour in the afternoon. Half is in Montagnais and half in Atikamekw. Programming runs on a fixed schedule but the content varies. Listeners get national, international and regional news, as well as interviews and features on traditional music.

Features on legends, health and other topics complete a schedule which offers news updates. At least twice a month, there are open-line shows on a variety of topics. SOCAM offers little music because the community stations offer mainly music. It does little in the way of children's programming because no ideal time slots are available.

4.1.7 Program Distribution

A combination of dedicated telephone lines and the satellite installations used by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Northern Service distribute the network signal to community transmitters. The signal is also broadcast over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's short wave service which, while not reliable, is important to hunters and trappers.

4.1.8 Programming Impact

Preliminary results from a 1986 survey indicated that community radio and SOCAM network broadcasts had the largest audience share. Of those indicating they listened to radio at a given hour, at least 80 per cent listened regularly to native-language broadcasts. More than 90 per cent of the population were aware of SOCAM broadcasts while only eight per cent never listen. Staff think that SOCAM plays a symbolic role as a rallying point for language survival and development.

One of SOCAM's regional development officers remarked that many natives had become more involved in native affairs as a result of SOCAM'S programming. People often approach visiting SOCAM staff to discuss previous radio broadcasts. In the past, such discussions would have been among band council members and native political leaders exclusively.

4.1.9 Community Radio

SOCAM needs to clarify its relationship with the community radio stations. Since the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program began in 1983, SOCAM has been unable to provide meaningful support to the stations. This has meant that in some communities, SOCAM is resented because NNBAP funding is directed to regional network radio, leaving the community radio stations with few resources.

Local stations rarely make enough to hire salaried employees and depend on volunteers who lack skill. The status of the community stations varies. Budgets range from $5,000 to $100,000. Local programming ranges from less than 20 to more than 80 hours weekly. The stations that are flourishing often depend on bingo for revenue. Others are so moribund that it is sometimes uncertain if someone will be there to air SOCAM's satellite feed.

CASE STUDY 2:

INUIT BROADCASTING CORPORATION

4.2.1 Historical Development

IBC was established in 1981 after lobbying by Inuit leaders which was prompted by introduction of English only, southern television service to the North and successful interactive satellite TV broadcasting experiments, such as the Inukshuk Project (1978-1981). From the outset, the Inuit focused on development of an Inuktitut television service since Inuktitut radio was already well developed by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in the Northwest Territories.

In 1980, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission's Committee on Extension of Services to Northern and Remote Communities, headed by the late Réal Therrien, recommended policy, program and regulatory initiatives in support of native broadcasting. A respected Inuit leader from Frobisher Bay, John Amagoalik, was a member of the Therrien committee, and helped consolidate support for native interests.

Several other initiatives, such as production workshops sponsored by the National Film Board of Canada and a Frobisher Bay based community film and video group called Nunatsiakmiut, provided IBC with expertise. IBC history has been marked by rapid growth with staff doubling and production increasing.

In 1985, IBC and Nunatsiakmiut merged, allowing IBC to produce drama regularly. The same year, IBC's coverage area was expanded.

4.2.2 Region and Audience Served

IBC serves an Inuit population of about 20,000 living in about 40 communities in the Baffin, Keewatin, and Kitikmeot regions of the Northwest Territories, as well as Arctic Quebec and Labrador. Inuit are the dominant ethnic majority. The non-native population is less than 10 per cent, in most of the smaller communities.

IBC's audience is predominantly young -- half are less than 20. Unemployment is high. Only 37 per cent of Inuit over 15 in Baffin, Keewatin and Kitikmeot are employed, compared to 78 per cent of the non-Inuit. Two thirds of Inuit over 15 have less than a grade nine education.

Most Inuit, including the young, participate in such traditional activities as hunting, fishing or

trapping. Audience surveys commissioned by IBC in 1984 and 1985, show the use of Inuktitut, both written and spoken, is widespread. More than 95 per cent of the sample population in both studies speak it and, about 85 per cent, read syllabics, a written form of Inuktitut. Almost all Inuit between nine and 25 speak English, while the majority over 45 are unilingual Inuktitut.

Television is relatively new to the North. Most communities have had it for less than ten years, but virtually every household now has at least one set. In some places, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Northern Service television is all the TV that is available. It broadcasts about 116 hours each week via satellite of which almost 95 per cent is English-language programming from the South. IBC programming accounts for about 4 per cent (approximately 5.5 hours per week) of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation schedule. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Northern Service produces less than one hour of TV in Inuktitut each week, about one per cent of the schedule. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's most popular programs are The National, an English-language evening network newscast and Focus North, a weekly current affairs program produced in the North. It is broadcast in English and, later, in a translated Inuktitut version. The younger audience prefers situation comedies and cartoon programs carried by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

More and more communities and individual Inuit households have bought satellite dishes which let them receive many Canadian and U.S. signals. Frobisher Bay, the largest community in IBC's coverage area has a scrambled rebroadcast subscription service that delivers eight TV channels and three radio stations from the South. Many Inuit households are equipped with Video Cassette Recorders (VCRs). Video rentals of Hollywood films and rock videos are popular, especially among young viewers who understand English.

IBC's audience watches a lot of television, especially during winter. IBC estimates that children watch four to five hours of TV daily. When not in school, some may watch as much as eight hours. According to a 1985 IBC audience survey, the heaviest viewing period for all respondents is 8:00 pm to 10:00 pm. Viewing, however, is only 3 per cent less from 6:00 pm to 8:00 pm and 10:00 pm to midnight. (Most of IBC's broadcasts are between 10:00 pm and midnight.) Significant numbers of Inuit also watch television between 12 noon and 2:00 pm, and from 4:00 pm to 6:00 pm.

While the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation does not produce much Inuktitut television, its Northern Service provides a considerable amount of radio programming in Inuktitut. About 35 per cent of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation radio schedule in the Baffin Island area is in Inuktitut. Local access radio raises the amount of Inuktitut programming to about 50 per cent in the Eastern Arctic, varying from one community to the other depending on the local access agreement with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

4.2.3 Mandate

IBC's mandate is to provide Inuit with a broadcasting service designed to strengthen language, culture and identity. Its corporate goals are broader and include education, public debate and provision of information to increase understanding of local, national, international issues and participation in decisions affecting Inuit territories.

4.2.4 Organizational Structure, Management and Staffing

IBC is a non-profit corporation registered as a charity. That allows it to issue tax deductible receipts to donors. It is governed by a seven-member board of directors appointed by regional organizations and local Inuit communications societies. The board may also choose members-at-large when there is a need for special expertise. Elected every three years, the president is the chief executive officer and chairman of the board.

IBC has a full-time staff of about 50 and an annual payroll of $1 million. Its administrative centre is in Ottawa while production staff are based in five widely dispersed northern centres.

IBC is highly decentralized. The five production centres are quite autonomous, while most administrative matters are managed from Ottawa headquarters. IBC has an informal and participatory management style. Despite a traditional hierarchical chain of command, staff members at all levels of the organization can influence decisions beyond the immediate scope of their responsibilities.

4.2.5 Activities and Revenue Sources

IBC produces about 3.5 hours of television programming each week and distributes another 2 hours of programming produced by other Inuit broadcasting societies. (IBC has the capacity to produce at least 4.5 hours of programming each week, but is restricted to 3.5 hours as a result of distribution limitations). Production funding is provided by the federal government under the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program. In the past few years, IBC has embarked on a growing number of special projects, including various coproductions.

IBC is active in a number of northern organizations interested in Inuit issues, including the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, established to represent all Inuit from the circumpolar region on cultural and environmental issues and the Task Force on Inuit Management Development, a coalition of Inuit organizations and government working to create more management training for Inuit.

To save on equipment costs and benefit from the growth in northern broadcasting, IBC has set up Inuit Communications Systems Ltd. The company has a Sony franchise and markets a wide range of video supplies across the North.

4.2.6 Programming

IBC uses fixed time slots on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation broadcast schedule and carefully packages programs to fit limited broadcast times. IBC follows a traditional broadcasting model, although community involvement is still important to production. Since 1982, IBC programming has become more professional and varied. Each production centre sets annual programming quotas in the following categories:

a. News and current affairs
b. Inuit culture (programming of contemporary or traditional culture)
c. Information programming of a general nature
d. Entertainment (mostly music and variety)
e. Programs about land use, animals, and world of nature
f. Drama
g. Children's programming
h. Instructive programming ("how-to" programs)

More than 80 per cent of IBC's programming is in the first five categories. All of its regular productions are in Inuktitut. IBC has covered a number of special events of importance to Inuit throughout the broadcast area.

In January 1982, the first month IBC went on air, the Northwest Territories was preparing to vote in a plebiscite proposing creation of a new territory in the Eastern Arctic by dividing the Northwest Territories into two distinct territories. There was concern that the issues surrounding the proposed division were unclear. IBC produced documentaries explaining the plebiscite and covered returns live from Frobisher Bay. Territorial government officials credit IBC for a high voter turnout in the Eastern Arctic.

On another occasion, IBC was the host communicator for the third Inuit Circumpolar Conference, held in Frobisher Bay in 1983. The meeting brought together Inuit from Greenland, Alaska, and Canada and attracted more than 100 Canadian and international media personnel. IBC conducts its own training programs for junior and senior producers, coordinated by a full-time training director. Experienced TV broadcasters are hired under contract to lead seminars and workshops at regional production centres. Hands-on training, emphasizing experiential learning has been the hallmark of IBC instruction over the years. Sometimes trainees begin producing after only a few months of instruction. In the junior training programs, emphasis is placed on the technical basics of television with some effort towards developing skill in Inuktitut. Staff with broadcasting experience undergo more specialized training in such areas as lighting, sound recording, editing and script-writing. Each training program is tailored to the needs of each production centre. In the past, IBC has had to rely on southern training experts who undoubtedly influenced the style of IBC programming. Now that IBC has a core of experienced Inuit staff, more training can be done in Inuktitut using senior producers and their work as examples.

4.2.7 Program Distribution

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Northern Service provides IBC with about 5.5 hours of transponder time each week. The space is leased by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on the ANIK D satellite operating on a frequency of 6/4 Ghz.

4.2.8 Programming Impact

Audience surveys commissioned by IBC indicate that about 85 per cent of Inuit, over the age of nine, watch at least one to three hours of IBC programming weekly. According to IBC's 1985 audience survey, the most frequent viewers are 26 to 45; eighty-six per cent watch one to three hours or more weekly, compared to 72 per cent of young Inuit aged nine to 15. Most viewers in the 22:00 to midnight period, which includes most of IBC's programming, are older. IBC programming appeals primarily to viewers aged 46 and older. The most popular program in 1985 was Whale Hunt, produced in Baker Lake. Older viewers enjoy programs like Whale Hunt that feature action and traditional pursuits. According to the surveys, young people share this interest. Audiences tend to be more interested in programs produced in their own region. This may relate to problems in dialect comprehension. The audience would like more and improved IBC programming. Preferences include Inuit music, language, news, programs about northern communities and traditional skills. There is also a demand for a wide variety of children's programming.

Besides annual audience surveys, IBC staff receive a great deal of informal feedback. Some IBC commentators have become role models for young Inuit.

4.2.9 Observations

As one of the oldest native broadcasting organizations in Canada, IBC has enjoyed a great deal of success. Rosemarie Kuptana, IBC's president, sees a future marked by increased production, further decentralization and closer work with educational institutions. A strong emphasis is placed on educational and increased interactive broadcasting in IBC's vision for the future as expressed in a position paper: "Our dream is to develop an Inuit communications system that will enhance the strength and dignity of our people. We can imagine, for example, our children learning about their culture and history through audio-visual material prepared by Inuit educators and fed via satellite to Inuit homes and schools. We can see Inuit children exploring their own environment and the environment beyond, through educational and entertainment programming broadcast in Inuktitut. We can anticipate more interactive communication: video debates on the important issues of the day, teleconference meetings and workshops."

5 NORTHERN NATIVE BROADCASTING ISSUES

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As the cultures of native peoples vary across Canada, so too, do their broadcasting needs. While societies approach broadcasting differently in response to the particular needs of regions, there are also similarities. This chapter examines the similarities and differences, as well as the factors that influence how societies approach native-language broadcasting.

5.1 Broadcasting Needs and Preferences

Pre-production audience surveys commissioned show the great diversity of needs and preferences from one region to the next. Service requested by native audiences may vary, depending on the nature and extent of services already available. In one area, conditions may mean the communications society opts for more native-language television over radio. In another, conditions may mean bilingual services are preferred. In other regions, despite a plethora of languages and a small percentage of residents who actually speak their native language, a lot of broadcasting is done in English. But in such regions, there still is a demand for native-language broadcasting. Surveys show that native audiences want community services, regional services and national broadcasting services in their own tongues. And they want them in that order.

Southern television, notably the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, is the main source of news about national and international affairs. Generally, radio provides most information about community and regional activities. Even where the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation offers good native-language programming, audiences want more community and regional information, as well as instruction on native history and lifestyle.

5.2 Organization and Management of Native Communications Societies

Under the terms of the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program, all native communications societies must be non-profit corporations, independent of native political organizations. All must be governed by native board members representative of the coverage area. They usually reflect standard corporate organization. Informal structures and management systems are diverse. Some show considerable innovation and a blend of native and non-native cultures. WaWaTay, for example, makes extensive use of Indian elders for spiritual direction and cultural advice. Three of WaWaTay's fifteen board positions are designated for elders. SOCAM has a five-member board of directors, one of whom is chosen by employees.

To provide expert advice and guidance in its formative stages, the Alberta Radio-Television Society used an advisory board consisting of native leaders, business persons and experts in media planning. IBC established voluntary advisory committees for fund-raising and children's educational programming on an ad hoc basis.

Perhaps the greatest challenge for managers is rapid expansion. Under the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program, most societies have been encouraged to develop a second broadcast medium. Staff numbers can double and budgets triple within a few years. Rapid expansion has meant all organizations, to some degree, rely on non-native expertise. Most are in need of ongoing management training. Schooled in journalism and media production, some native staff members find it difficult to assume administrative and managerial responsibilities.

While most societies have established administrative offices and production headquarters in large urban centres, a few have chosen remote communities as their base of operations. The Okalakatiget Society is the most notable example. With production and administration facilities located in the small Inuit community of Nain on the coast of Labrador, Okalakatiget is the only society with headquarters in the most northerly community of the coverage area. Although locating in a remote community has obvious disadvantages, Okalakatiget has shown that the advantages of establishing in a strong cultural centre, however remote, outweigh the disadvantages.

5.3 Community and Regional Network Broadcasting Models and Services

Most native communications societies see community radio and regional network radio as complementary. Both have important and distinct roles to play in an integrated media service. Community radio provides the opportunity for maximum community participation and dissemination of local information, messages, and entertainment, and a life-saving role in emergencies. Regional network radio links widely dispersed and isolated human settlements, as well as strengthening cultural bonds. Potentially more powerful and influential than community radio, regional network radio reaches a much larger audience.

Relatively little funding is available to support community radio and television in Canada. Of the approximately 150 native community radio stations in Canada, most operate on small budgets. Originally designed to support regional networks, the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program does not fund community radio or television directly. This is a contentious issue for native communications societies wanting to strengthen community radio in their regions. Some, like WaWaTay and SOCAM, argue that regional radio works best when based on a solid foundation of community radio. This is supported by the fact that some societies, serving regions that do not have well developed community radio services, experience difficulty establishing programming contacts and getting community reaction.

5.4 Native Programming

Northern native communications societies produce about 150 hours of radio and 12 hours of television weekly for a target population of about 180,000.

Programming is as varied as the regions served and depends on different factors, including program distribution, the strength of native languages in a region, production budgets, and broadcasting needs and preferences as expressed informally in audience surveys. Other factors include the age and interests of the broadcasters, the training and experience staff have received, the historical background of each society, along with the particular mandate and goals set by producers.

How distribution and training influence programming are discussed later in this chapter.

In addition to native language programming, eight of the thirteen native communications societies produce varying amounts of English-language programming. This practice is actively discouraged by the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program officials because of the native language development goals of the federal funding program.

For the most part, programming provided by native communications societies consists of information and entertainment. Typical information programming includes regional news, current affairs of importance to the indigenous population, weather reports, road reports, public service announcements, interviews with elders and sports events. Entertainment programming is often music shows, sometimes featuring native musicians from the region. SOCAM's production - a good example of programming variety - consists almost entirely of news and current affairs, whereas Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon, fills 60 hours weekly airtime mainly with music.

Audiences generally want more information programming. Some types of information and entertainment programs can be produced faster and cheaper than educational programs. However, it may be argued that some information programming is educational.

All the societies have adapted well to broadcasting technology. Because most of the radio broadcasters are limited to preset time slots, program formats are adhered to and reports from distant communities or production centres are incorporated with split-second timing.

At least two of the societies providing radio run commercials, although only the Mikisew Broadcasting Corporation of Northern Manitoba airs significant amounts of advertising. There is tension in some societies between producers who want to

offer public service information and those who wish to develop a commercial sound, offering mainly rock or country-and-western music.

It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for the commercial orientation in some regions. In two of the northern regions offering commercial programming, community radio, which often features popular music, is not well developed. In the same two regions, some of the broadcasters were trained in commercial stations. It is these very stations that offer competition and role models to the native stations.

A commercial orientation may develop where staff lack native language skills and where there are many hours of airtime to fill daily. Also, popular programming, such as music shows, may seem more cost-efficient when budgets are limited.

5.4a Trends in Programming

It is too early to detect trends in programming as a whole, since most broadcasters have been operating less than two years. Societies such as Taqramiut Nipingat Inc., WaWaTay and Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon, report major improvements in production quality over the years, as well more variety in programming and improved ability to undertake complex projects. Societies indicate that producing dramas, documentaries, children's educational broadcasts, and other sophisticated programming depends on being able to raise more funds.

5.4b Distribution and Its Influence on Programming

Each native communications society depends on an existing northern broadcaster to distribute its programming. Although the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission has developed a policy and broad guidelines to give access to existing distribution systems in the North for native broadcasting, its approach favours industry self-regulation.

Although it has indicated that 20 hours of radio time and five hours of television time should be made available in each region, the distribution of native-produced programming still depends on the good will of northern broadcasters and the capacity of their distribution systems. While all societies have managed to secure some kind of distribution arrangement, most agreements seriously restrict the quantity and the nature of production.

For example, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation provides each native broadcasting group in northern Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba with two hours of access time each day. The limited access time restricts the variety and scope of programming. The time slots may be restrictive, often one hour or less, and may not allow sufficient flexibility for open-ended or feature length programming. Several societies, including IBC and SOCAM, have been slow to develop children's programming, partly because they cannot get appropriate time slots for young audiences.

Three societies doing TV production, Okalakatiget, Taqramiut Nipingat Inc., and the Inuvialuit Communications Society, do not have direct access to satellite distribution systems. That prevents them from offering interactive and live programming and covering timely news items.

Unlimited access can affect programming differently. To fill the schedule, some groups may overburden production staff. Others may be tempted to rely on pre-recorded music, at the expense of other programming. When a society has unrestricted access to a satellite distribution system, it does not necessarily guarantee complete programming flexibility. WaWaTay, for example, has twenty-four hours of available radio time on a TVOntario sub-carrier each day. It must negotiate, however, with the community radio stations for access to their local transmitters and produce programming that complements local services.

Piggy-backing programming on someone else's distribution system causes identity problems for some native broadcasters. Some respondents to a 1984 IBC audience survey indicated they did not fully differentiate between the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Inuktitut television programs and IBC's programming, since both were carried on the same channel. SOCAM and the Missinipi Broadcasting Corporation, had the same problem. To compensate, some native communications societies have taken extra measures to promote their corporate identity. Some have developed innovative program introductions and endings containing theme music, logos, and other measures designed to clearly distinguish them from their distributors.

5.4c Training and Programming

Because there are few institutional training programs to serve the needs of northern native communications societies and few experienced native broadcasters on the labour market, in-house training is critical to native broadcasting. The Federal Government has provided considerable support for native broadcast training in the past. Since few trainees have advanced formal education and work experience, much training has focused on developing basic skills for broadcasting and good work habits. Training has often been compressed so that trainees could begin producing quickly. In many instances, skills were developed on the job under production pressures.

Most training follows a journalistic orientation. New trainees learn about story development, focus, interviewing, editing the technical aspects of audio and, in some cases, video recording. Students prefer "hands-on" training in which they emulate instructors. Only a few societies provide advanced training for producers. IBC, for example, holds regular workshops for senior producers, where each producer's work is critiqued by all. In this training model, discussion is in Inuktitut and staff have the opportunity to learn from each other.

Most native communications societies realize that language training must be emphasised. Few native journalists have well-developed writing skills in aboriginal languages. Most sight-translate from English copy. The problem is particularly acute in some western provinces and the Yukon, where native languages are most endangered.

5.5 Changing Environment

The broadcasting environment in the North is changing rapidly with the introduction of new services and affordable new technologies. Although southern television came to many northern native communities with little consultation, locally or regionally, it has become a popular permanent fixture in most homes. Regional audience surveys indicate that between 88 and 96 per cent of native households across the North have television. Almost 100 per cent have radio.

Newer technologies have made major inroads. Although information from regional surveys is incomplete, indications are that 20 to 40 per cent of homes have video cassette recorders (VCR). The surveys also indicate that most northern schools have VCRs.

As the cost of satellite receiving equipment decreases, some natives and many communities buy satellite "dishes", to receive a wider choice of entertainment. The regional audience surveys to date offer little concrete information on the impact of the new technologies and service on viewing habits. Some speculate that southern programming caters to the young, who often have the best grasp of English.

Since most societies offer a unique, native language service, they do not necessarily fear competition from an increased choice of southern programming. Some believe that exposure to an ever increasing array of southern programming may result in native audiences wanting similar high production values in their own programming.

6 IMPACT

6 IMPACT

Despite the local nature of the Northern audience surveys, it is possible to infer a number of things from available data. The most relevant data are contained in the audience surveys of the six societies that have been broadcasting longest under the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program; SOCAM; IBC; Taqramiut Nipingat Inc.; Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon; WaWaTay and Okalakatiget. Some data from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation audience studies are also relevant.

Data indicate that native people want their languages and traditions preserved. And they want more native programming. As language loss is highest among young people, parents want native language programming for their children. In a survey conducted for SOCAM, for example, 75 per cent of the population stated that native traditions were very important to them and they considered language to be most important. Ninety-four per cent said that they were very interested in language as a feature of traditional lifestyle. Interest in native languages and cultures is reflected in the actual behaviour of native audience. When native programming is available, audience levels are high.

A discernable pattern emerges from the available audience survey data indicating that native programming appeals mainly to adults. Data do not suggest any difference in programming appeal based on sex.

6.1 Preference for Native Programming

Comparative analysis of audience response to native and non-native programming suggests audience share increases when native programming is available. Three Northern audience surveys, conducted for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, are helpful.

According to a 1979 study in the Keewatin District of the Northwest Territories, the audience level jumped substantially when local Inuktitut programming was broadcast on community radio. In one community, audience levels for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English-language programming - just prior to the community radio broadcasts - were 17 per cent. During the community radio broadcast, those levels rose as high as 54 per cent. Following Inuktitut programming, levels dropped to less than five per cent.

In 1982, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation surveyed Inuit adults in two Baffin Island communities about the frequency of viewing thirteen programs, some in Inuktitut, some in English. In both communities, the American serial Dallas was the most popular English program, drawing 57 per cent of the adult audience. But in one settlement, local community television, available during limited time periods, drew 68 per cent of the adult audience, the highest recorded response.

In a 1985 radio survey undertaken for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation by the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement (BBM) in Yellowknife, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English-language programming attracted between two to 11 per cent of the potential audience in the city. The rating for most English-language shows was four to seven per cent.

The Dene-language programming broadcast daily by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation attracted about 15 per cent of the potential native population in the city. Among that population, the rating for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Dene-language programming was two to four times higher than the rating among the total population for most English-language programming. Admittedly, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English

programs competed with other English-language radio stations, while there were no competing Dene-language programs. But it is clear that when native language programming is available in Yellowknife, native people listen in relatively greater numbers than non-native residents do to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English programs.

Personal observation points to an interesting pattern of media response in some Inuit households, particularly where there are unilingual Inuit. The television and the radio often remain on for most of the day with the volume turned down. When Inuktitut can be heard on the radio, or Inuit programs appear on TV, the sound is turned up. This observation is partially supported in audience surveys in northern Quebec. For example, a survey for Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. reported that 35 per cent of respondents watched television only occasionally with the sound on.

While surveys indicate that native language speakers are likely to select programming in their own language, exceptions are inevitable for popular English and French-language sports programs, serials, and news. In many parts of the North, it is futile to schedule public events that coincide with mid-day soap operas and National Hockey League playoffs.

6.2 Impact on Native Learning

Audience surveys by a few native communications societies show that members of their broadcast audiences think that they have acquired new knowledge and skills as a result of the programming.

6.3 Impact on Native Participation in Northern Affairs

An overall assessment of native programming's impact on activities and developments related to the North is premature. Most societies have not been broadcasting for long. IBC, Okalakatiget, and WaWaTay regional audience surveys indicate that large portions of the audiences, especially native people over the age of 40, have acquired new information about northern native life, native organizations and issues from broadcasts. Given the current emphasis on information programming in most regions, it follows that native audiences are likely to have greater access to information for decision-making.

IBC, Taqramiut Nipingat Inc., and other societies point out that native language information programming (e.g., coverage of the First Ministers Conference on Aboriginal Rights) has been particularly helpful to older, unilingual native people. It has increased their understanding of northern issues and events. Whether it has increased native participation in such activities is open to speculation. Anecdotal information suggests that it has.

Government officials credit extensive IBC coverage of the issues surrounding the proposed division of the Northwest Territories as the main reason for a high turnout of Eastern Arctic Inuit during a 1982 plebiscite on division. It is generally accepted that IBC's coverage of a candidates' debate prior to the 1984 federal election helped voters in the huge northern riding of Nunatsiaq choose an MP.

IBC programming contributed to Inuit involvement in a major international event -- African famine relief. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and IBC coverage of human deprivation in Ethiopia resulted in an outpouring of Inuit donations to famine victims. Proportionately, Inuit gave more than any other people in the world, according to the Canadian Office for African Emergency Aid. Inuit representatives and an IBC television crew toured relief operations in Ethiopia in 1985 at the request of the Ethiopian government and aid organizations. That tour helped raise even more funds in the North and led one Inuit leader to make a North American speaking tour to publicize the need for long-term African development assistance.

Native broadcasting has mobilized disaster relief closer to home. Following floods that destroyed the village of Winisk in the spring of 1986, WaWaTay used its radio network to provide up-to-date information and coordinate relief efforts for the homeless.

6.4 Expert Opinion on Native Programming Impact

Native broadcasting experts have insights that complement the empirical data of regional audience surveys. It must be noted, however, that any conclusions based on their opinions are tentative, given that native broadcasting in Canada is still developing. Their opinions are confined mainly to the far North, where Inuit have been broadcasting longer than other aboriginal people.

Michael Shouldice of the Inuit Cultural Institute believes that native broadcasting has had a positive psychological impact on Inuit youth. He believes that Inuktitut television programming, in particular, has helped legitimize the use of Inuktitut in their minds.

Inuit broadcasting is seen as part of an important decolonization process. It helps raise the status of Inuit language and culture, in turn, bolstering self-esteem. Shouldice believes that the upsurge in Inuit broadcasting and other cultural activity have demonstrated that Inuit can earn a living promoting their own culture. He points to the flood of applications from young Inuit for journalism training programs as evidence of growing interest in media careers.

Sam Metcalfe of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs credits broadcasting for an increased interest in the use of Inuktitut in his native Labrador. He sees it as a vital aboriginal cultural revival in Canada. He believes Inuktitut broadcasting and language instruction in the schools have influenced young Inuit to increase their use of Inuktitut. According to Metcalfe, interest in Inuktitut language training has spread beyond the Inuit population. He claims more Labrador settler families are encouraging their children to take special Inuktitut classes. According to Metcalfe, Labrador Inuit show a keen interest in IBC programming depicting Inuit life in other regions. As a result, he believes that IBC strengthens Inuit cultural bonds, increases interregional knowledge and understanding of Inuit culture and lifestyles.

Jose Kusugak, a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation radio manager and Inuit-language expert, claims increased Inuktitut broadcasting, along with an increase in other forms of communication, are beginning to have an impact on the evolution of the Inuktitut. As broadcasters became more aware of dialect differences, he suggests, they chose words that soon became the accepted standard across dialects. He indicates that Inuit broadcasters may eventually create a common broadcasting dialect, just as common writing standards have been developed for Inuktitut.

John MacDonald of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, thinks native language programming offsets the demoralizing influence of the dominant culture, exemplified by southern mass media. He believes Inuit viewers have become more sophisticated with a taste for television programming of high technical and artistic quality. He also suggests Inuit have become more selective in their viewing habits and less interested in programming about distant communities and more interested in local and regional material. On a less positive note, he regrets that most native broadcasting has not addressed the needs of youth who are most liable to lose their language and culture.

MacDonald thinks that in the Inuit North, television is still regarded by viewers and producers primarily as an entertainment medium for which the full educational and developmental potential of the medium have yet to be exploited.

7 A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON NATIVE BROADCASTING

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The first principal objective of the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP), namely, "the protection and enhancement of native languages and cultures and their transmission to native children and youth," suggests a learning process. It implies that a principal function of the NNBAP is to provide a form of educational broadcasting. A NNBAP sub-objective, namely, "the acquisition by northern natives of appropriate skills for cultural, economic and social survival in the North," underscores the program's educational focus.

The second Northern Native Broadcast Access Program principal objective, "to facilitate the participation of northern natives in activities and developments related to the North through the exchange of information and ideas," suggests a developmental purpose; communications for participatory development and change. A review of theory related to the role of broadcasting for education and development provides a useful framework for an assessment of Northern native broadcasting activities in Canada.

The most relevant theory falls into two main streams: one explores the relationship between communications technology and development; the other focuses on the relationship between communications technology and education.

Lerner (1958) and Rogers (1962) contributed to what became known as the dominant paradigm of early development communications theory. They promoted the theory that technological innovation and central mass media programming carry solutions to economic and political problems in developing countries. Innis (1972) challenged this view, postulating that centralized mass-media served primarily to extend the interests of the powerful. As a result of development communications research in the Third World during the 1970s, the dominant paradigm was rebutted.

Many theorists, including Rogers (1976), Schramm (1977), and Katz (1977), began promoting a different model; decentralized systems that put communications technology in the hands of the powerless in order to help them better understand and change their situation. The use of media for such purposes became known as development communications.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Canada pioneered successful community development techniques using inexpensive communications technology. In several Indian communities, fishing outports and inner-city slums, compact audio, video, and film equipment was used to help people better understand the political and economic roots of their condition and take collective action. The interactive ANIK B experiments, involving Inuit in the Northwest Territories and Northern Quebec, used communications technologies to enhance community participation and development. Under the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program, however, the use of electronic media for community participation and development has been limited. Much of the programming has not been interactive, designed essentially to inform and entertain.

Valaskakis (1983) suggests that although regional broadcasting may provide native people with more information for decision-making, without interactive communication at the community level, regional broadcasting is limited in its ability to stimulate community action. According to Valaskakis, indigenous self-government requires participatory media technology that encourages dialogue between communities. While access to communications technology does not necessarily lead

to participatory development, interactive media enhance the potential for informed local action.

In their studies on broadcasting as a tool for non-formal adult education and community development, Ingle (1974) and Schramm (1977) call for organizing audiences into learning groups where the content of broadcasts can be actively debated.

Radio learning groups were used effectively in Canada during the 1940s and 1950s with the Farm Radio Forum broadcasts, a joint undertaking of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Canadian Association for Adult Education. Farmers were organized into local learning groups. Resource people helped moderate discussions following the Farm radio programs. Written materials supplemented broadcasts. While radio instruction has since been used for large-scale education campaigns in developing countries, it has not become a regular part of native broadcasting in Canada.

Education and communications theorists believe that the use of several media is best for effective learning. Gagné (1971) and Schramm (1977) conclude that no single medium is ideal for non-formal adult education.

Another relevant body of study relates to the role of media in preserving minority language and culture. Lerner (1958), Katz (1977) and Martin (1981) have speculated whether communications technology can be transferred to traditional cultures without, ipso facto, transferring the cultural context from which it comes. They suggest that it is possible, in some cases, to bolster traditional cultures with the aid of communications technology. Martin indicates that it is not enough to simply "get time" on the media for local programming. Local control, local knowledge, and local dialogue are needed for traditional cultures to thrive.

Hudson (1983) and Valaskakis (1980, 1982, 1983, 1984) point to the interactive satellite experiments of the late 1970s as an example of how native people can adapt modern technology to their own use. To reinforce indigenous cultures, Katz (1977) indicates that media producers require extensive grounding in their own traditions, not simply the traditions and technology of metropolitan media.

A major study by Alcock and O'Brien on broadcasting in the lesser used languages of the European Community, puts the role of radio and television in development of minority languages into perspective. It concludes: First, there can be no doubt that the effectiveness of radio and television will depend on the minority culture's situation, i.e. such factors as the status of the language, the richness of the written language; the existence of schools teaching in the language, teachers and materials to teach it. The availability of music, theatre groups and facilities such as cultural archives, etc. are also key factors. Radio and television provide back-up.

Alcock and O'Brien suggested 40 hours of radio and 20-25 hours of television broadcasting each week, during peak viewing periods, are needed to support development of minority languages within the European Community. These quantities are too much for the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program at present funding levels.

To ensure that the lesser used languages of the European Community pass from one generation to the next, Alcock and O'Brien underscore the role of broadcasting in education: "The importance of radio and television programme, whether of the play school variety at maternity level, or for aiding language teaching at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, cannot be overestimated."

In a study entitled Minority Language Bilingualism in Canada: The Case of Inuktitut in the Canadian North, Prattis and Chartrand recommend a multi-faceted approach to Inuit language preservation that, like Alcock and O'Brien, emphasizes education: Our emphasis throughout has been on bilingual education as part of a wider program of biculturalism that involves the media, adult, and community education in order to ensure feedback and legitimacy for adhering to Inuit identity and language.

Other studies have stressed the need for long-term strategies to nurture aboriginal languages. In the Northwest Territories, the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages, reporting in 1986, recommended a wide variety of measures to preserve native language use, including bilingual education, increased native language broadcasting, new language, new cultural institutions, a standardized Dene writing-system and, above all, official status for the aboriginal languages of the Northwest Territories.

8 A NEW AND POTENT FORCE

8 A NEW AND POTENT FORCE

Native broadcasting is a new and potent force to enhance aboriginal languages, cultures and broaden native participation in northern affairs. While it is too early to come to definitive conclusions about the impact of northern native broadcasting, a number of observations can be made:

- regional broadcasting works best when based on a solid foundation of community radio. Local radio is a source of talent and programming for regional networks and is more participatory;
- the best strategy in a culturally diverse region has been to decentralize production and network it throughout the region. Decentralized production, though it may be more costly, is essential if it is to reflect the many cultures of a region;
- the experience of native broadcasting societies, such as SOCAM, IBC and others, shows that sophisticated satellite technology can support small, decentralized broadcasting operations serving minority language groups;
- the findings of regional audience surveys are impressive and show native programming is drawing large audiences.

At present funding levels, native broadcasters will be challenged to reconcile information and entertainment programming on one hand, and the need for both formal and non-formal educational programming on the other.

The survival of aboriginal languages and cultures and strengthened native participation in northern affairs depend on action on many fronts -- education, the arts, language rights legislation, and political and economic development. Although it is too soon to predict the role of native language broadcasting as part of a broader strategy, the experience to date shows it is a purveyor of cultural wealth, an important source of alternative information and a symbol of the legitimacy of native languages.